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ABSTRACT

Six articles discuss various aspects of the English Only Movement while affirming the inalienable right of language minority individuals to equal educational opportunity and due process under the law and the right to maintain cultural and linguistic ties to their native heritages. Congressman Don Edwards considers bilingual ballots, explaining minority language provisions of the Voting Rights Act, and concluding that they have effectively and fairly insured the right to vote for all Americans. Congressman John McCain discusses the 1984 reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act, emphasizing that the purpose of bilingual education is to teach English not to perpetuate ethnic division in American society. Senator Paul Simon views bilingual education as a way to provide limited-English-speaking students with equal access to education and allow them to participate fully in our economy and society. G. Richard Tucker draws from his experience and research with Canadian language immersion and bilingual programs to demonstrate the social and linguistic importance of achieving proficiency in the native language as well as in English. Robert C. Hitchens of the Spanish International Network discusses the effects of widespread availability of Spanish language media. The final paper, by Mary Carol Combs and John Trasvina, spells out the negative consequences of the proposed English Language Amendment. (JHZ)

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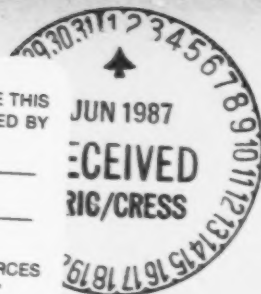
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THE "ENGLISH PLUS" PROJECT

JUNE 1986

SPECIAL CONVENTION ISSUE

THE ENGLISH ONLY MOVEMENT: AN AGENDA FOR DISCRIMINATION

Bilingual Ballots

Congressman Don Edwards

Bilingual Education: The Need for Equity

Congressman John McCain

Expanding Language Horizons: "English Plus"

Senator Paul Simon

Implications of Canadian Research for Promoting a Language Competent American Society

G. Richard Tucker

The Role of Spanish Language Media

Robert C. Hitchen

Legal Implications of the English Language Amendment

Mary Carol Combs & John Trasvina

The League of United Latin American Citizens

LULAC

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INTRODUCTION

In our 57-year history, LULAC has worked to bring about many of the positive social and economic changes that Hispanic Americans have seen. In 1921, courageous men and women, many of whom were future members of LULAC, began organizing in Texas to ensure that juries reflected the composition of the population, and they filed suits to have Mexican Americans placed on jury rosters.

In 1945, a California LULAC Council successfully sued to integrate the Orange County School System, which had been segregated on the grounds that Hispanic children were "more poorly clothed and mentally inferior to white children."

Additionally, in 1954, LULAC brought another landmark case, *Hernandez vs. the State of Texas*, to protest the fact that not a single Hispanic in Texas had ever been called to jury duty. The Supreme Court ruled this exclusion unconstitutional.

Since that time, we have fought for voting rights and full access to the political process, and equal educational opportunity for our children and grandchildren. It has been a long and often difficult struggle, but our record of activism continues to this day, as LULAC councils across the country hold voter registration drives and citizenship awareness sessions, sponsor health fairs and tutorial programs, and raise scholarship money for the LULAC National Scholarship Fund. Indeed, this fund, in conjunction with the service centers, has assisted almost 10 percent of the 1.1 million Hispanic students who have gone on to college.

Recently, our activism has extended to the realm of language and cultural rights as well. In response to an alarming increase in xenophobia and anti-Hispanic sentiment, LULAC councils have fought back by holding seminars and public symposiums on language and immigration issues, and have spoken out on television and radio against the movement to limit the public (and in some cases, private) use of minority languages.

LULAC feels that cultural and linguistic pluralism is part of the true "glue" that holds our nation together, and has endorsed the "English Plus" concept as a response to the antagonistic nature of the English only movement. The "English Plus" concept celebrates the cultural and linguistic diversity of our nation and looks to our multiethnic and multilingual communities as national resources.

LULAC National Office has monitored, on federal, state and local levels, the emergence and growing prominence of the movement to declare English the official language of the United States. We have debated the issue in newspapers, radio and television, have formed educational and information

forums, and have created several task forces on language policy and "English Plus." The *LULAC TODAY* newsletters consistently print articles on the issue, and LULAC continues to support English language literacy programs for limited English proficient individuals.

Most recently, we saw a positive development in the campaign to promote the concept of "English Plus." Through the combined efforts of LULAC and Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, the Atlanta City Council unanimously passed a resolution designating that city "multilingual and multicultural." The resolution stipulates that Atlanta "respects the linguistic and cultural differences of its citizens." It was passed as a response to a resolution passed by the Georgia State Legislature designating English as the official language of the state.

We are pleased to present this collection of articles on various aspects of the English only movement. It is our sincere hope that the ideas presented here will enliven the debate and help spur our LULAC councils into continued activism, not only for the *promotion* of "English Plus," but also for the *protection* of the civil rights we have long fought for and the democratic principles we have upheld.

The authors of the articles in this booklet are varied both in their knowledge of the subjects discussed and experience in their respective fields. Some are policy makers who base their judgments on years of experience in the public area. Others are scholars, advocates, attorneys or members of the private sector whose research and experience add a unique perspective to the debate.

Although the articles included here focus on different topics, their common thread is recognition of the inalienable right of language minority individuals to (1) equal educational opportunity and due process under the law; and (2) the right to maintain cultural and linguistic ties to their native heritages.

In the first article, Congressman Don Edwards, Chairman of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, discusses the controversial subject of multilingual or bilingual ballots. His view reflects the findings of congressional hearings he chaired in 1975 to extend and amend the Voting Rights Act to include language minority citizens, including Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans, and Alaskan natives. Congressman Edwards represents a district in California with many citizens of limited English proficiency.

Evidence at the hearings revealed that language minority citizens were often excluded from the voting process because of their inability to read the ballots. The hearings established that this form of discrimination, most severe against Spanish-speaking Americans, was widespread and constituted a basic denial of one of our most precious civil rights—the right to

vote. Congress concluded therefore that multilingual election materials enable language minority citizens to better understand the issues at hand and to cast their votes in a more informed and responsible manner.

In the second article, Congressman John McCain, formally of the House Education and Labor Committee, discusses the reauthorization in 1984 of the Bilingual Education Act and reasserts his commitment to addressing the needs of limited English proficient populations in our nation. He explains how the Act aims not simply to achieve "minimum standards of educational equity" but strives for "educational excellence" as well.

Congressman McCain criticizes opponents of bilingual education who charge that the use of transitional programs "formally sanctions the perpetuation of ethnic divisions in American society." Rather, he suggests, the increasing need of bilingual education and its acceptance by parents, is indicative of the importance they place on the formal educational process provided their children. The Congressman concludes with an appeal to our nation's leaders "not to abdicate their educational responsibilities to any segment of our population by eliminating a proven methodology without justification for doing so."

Senator Paul Simon, of the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources, likewise affirms his commitment to the equal educational protection of language minority individuals with his support of bilingual education. Based on a growing body of research on the scholastic successes of bilingual education programs across the country, the Senator concludes that bilingual education is more than merely a method by which schools teach English; it is also an opportunity for the students to learn subjects such as math, science and history in their native languages so that they may compete scholastically with their English-speaking peers.

But the fundamental issues, as the Senator points out, is that all students have the *right* to learn, and for limited English proficient youngsters this includes not only the right to learn English but the right to learn academic and vocational subjects as well.

Finally, the Senator endorses the concept of "English Plus," which holds, in part, that although young people of limited English proficiency "need and want to be fluent in English to enter the mainstream of our society and economy, they have much to offer from their varied language backgrounds." These backgrounds are, accordingly, national and natural resources to be defended and cherished.

G. Richard Tucker, current Director of the Center for Applied Linguistics, has contributed a very significant article for educators, policy makers and advocates of "English Plus" alike. Drawing from his experience and research with Canadian language immersion and bilingual pro-

grams, he demonstrates the social and linguistic importance of achieving proficiency in the native language as well as in English.

Comparing French immersion programs in Canada to submersion or immersion in English instructional programs in the United States, Tucker found that a child's socio-economic background, the level of education of his parents, and the value that the home language has among members of the child's community were all factors in determining the effective acquisition of the target language.

French immersion programs in Canada have been successful primarily because their main objective is "additive bilingualism," or the addition of a second language without forfeiting one's own mother tongue. Tucker suggests that additive bilingualism creates "a language competent society," that is, a society in which both limited English proficient individuals and native English speakers will be able to develop fluency in a second language while developing simultaneously reading and writing skills in the home language.

The implications of Tucker's data for our own vision of such a society in the United States cannot be understated. Bilingual education programs based on the Canadian models may prove to be the best means of providing to all children in the United States—not just language minority youngsters—the assistance to help them become proficient in a second language.

One of the most controversial aspects of the whole "language question" is the preponderance and availability of Spanish language media. English only proponents charge that such availability merely reinforces and strengthens Hispanics' sense of "separatism," and encourages the formation of a segregated Hispanic society. Indeed, they fear, Spanish language broadcast and print media aids and encourages those in the Hispanic community wishing to avoid assimilation into the American mainstream.

Thus, we have included in our collection an article authored by Robert C. Hitchens, Vice President of Marketing for the Spanish International Network (SIN), the nation's largest Spanish language television network.

Hitchens maintains that Spanish language media was, in effect, created to fill a vacuum in the coverage of Hispanics in America, and is thus a reflection of a need not met by English language media. He reasons, "the fact that these media 'talk in Spanish' is less important than the fact that the *content* is Hispanic."

Additionally, Hitchen argues, many Hispanic Americans in our country simply *choose* to watch Hispanic programming, even those who are proficient in English and who may also watch regular "Anglo" television. Thus, SIN views itself as the "medium of choice" by millions of Hispanic Americans.

Hitchens concludes with a plug for bilinguality and the concomitant social and economic benefits of fluency in both English and Spanish: "SIN promotes bilingualism for there are obvious advantages to fluency in

English and we see no evidence that Hispanics who also master English will abandon their heritage and Spanish-language media.”

Our collection concludes with a discussion of the negative consequences of the proposed English Language Amendment. Mary Carol Combs, Director of the “English Plus” project for the LULAC National Office, and John Trasvina, Legislative Attorney for the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), describe how passage of the Amendment would end or severely limit numerous language assistance programs and services, including bilingual education, multilingual ballots, court interpreters, and bilingual personnel in hospitals, community centers and alcohol and drug treatment programs.

Trasvina and Combs conclude that current efforts to raise the “language issue” to a political debate reflect a resurgence of the xenophobic and racist tendencies of English only proponents in the latter part of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. Such efforts, they write, are out of step with America entering the 21st Century.

BILINGUAL BALLOTS

by Don Edwards

Have you ever been confused while casting a ballot? The technical, and often confusing, language of most ballot propositions usually puzzles even native English speakers. But imagine the increased confusion if your native language is not English. For a good number of Americans this indeed is the case. Until recently, these Americans, both native-born and naturalized citizens, were excluded from participating in the political process because they simply could not understand the ballot.

The right to vote in America is fundamental, for it preserves all other rights. Yet, for too long, too many Americans were denied this right. The most obvious denial was against Black Americans, especially in the South, who were denied the right to vote because of their race.

For nearly 100 years, our nation tried to provide this right. The 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution made it clear that the right to vote cannot be denied on account of race. Laws passed in the late 1950s and early 1960s again attempted to eliminate voting discrimination, but fell far short of that goal.

Responding to this fundamental denial, Congress passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The Voting Rights Act has been hailed as one of the most effective civil rights laws ever enacted. This comprehensive Act replaced the ineffective case-by-case approach tried previously with a broad prohibition against discriminatory voting practices and procedures. The Act also set up an efficient administrative mechanism to prevent voting discrimination before it occurred.

But voting discrimination takes on more forms than just blatant race discrimination, as experienced by Southern Blacks. In 1975, the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, which I chair, held 13 days of hearings to consider extending and amending the Act. After hearing from numerous witnesses, it became painfully clear that language minority citizens—Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans, and Alaskan natives—frequently were excluded from the political process. They were excluded because they could not comprehend the election

Congressman Don Edwards (D-CA) is Chairman of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights.

materials, available only in English. This form of discrimination denied language minority citizens the right to vote.

Congress concluded that this form of discrimination, most severe against Hispanics, was pervasive and national in scope. In order to remedy this situation, Congress amended the Voting Rights Act to provide protection for language minority citizens.

The Voting Rights Act has two minority language provisions, Section 4(f) and Section 203. Both sections require jurisdictions with a sizeable number of language minority citizens to provide registration or voting notices, forms, instructions, assistance, or other materials or information relating to the electoral process, including ballots, in the language of the minority group as well as in English. The sections differ in how the jurisdictions are covered. Section 4 provides for stricter standards, based on a history of discrimination in the jurisdiction, including physical, economic and political intimidation.

The impact of bilingual election materials has been dramatic. For the first time, citizens unable to adequately speak, read or understand English are finally able to cast a ballot, and exercise their fundamental right to vote.

Despite providing a fundamental right to American citizens, bilingual ballots have come under severe attack. Opponents insist that Americans should know English in order to truly exercise the rights and privileges of citizenship. They argue that, in any case, if a citizen does not know enough English to vote, he can still bring an interpreter into the voting booth to aid him. Further, they claim that bilingual ballots are unnecessary, as virtually all applicants for citizenship must pass an examination demonstrating knowledge of simple English.

Opponents of bilingual ballots ignore the simple fact that language minority Americans do not know enough English to responsibly cast their ballots. Congress found that the denial of the right to vote against language minority citizens is ordinarily directly related to the unequal educational opportunities afforded them, resulting in high illiteracy and low voting participation. If one cannot understand the ballot, one cannot be expected to cast an intelligent vote.

America has long cherished the tradition of the secret ballot. Forcing language minority citizens to bring along a translator (or to rely on an elections official) places an unfair and unnecessary burden on them.

Bilingual ballots benefit more than only naturalized citizens. Bilingual ballots are available to all language minority citizens regardless of birthplace. But even for naturalized citizens, the mastery of English necessary to cast an informed ballot is far greater than the level necessary to pass a simple English test, as required for citizenship.

Opponents also claim that bilingual ballots are discriminatory because only selected language groups are targeted for special treatment. This argument ignores the fact that Congress only found discrimination to exist

against members of these groups: Spanish language Americans, Native Americans, Asian Americans and Alaskan natives. Discrimination was not found against other language minority groups. In the 10 years following the 1975 amendments, the Subcommittee has neither found nor heard of other language minority groups having similar problems.

Bilingual ballots invite abuse, the opponents claim. But there have been few incidents of abuse, such as non-citizens registering to vote; no more than the normal amount of election fraud. Election fraud must be rooted out, of course, but there does not appear to be any causal connection between bilingual ballots and electoral abuse.

The opponents say that bilingual ballots are costly, up to three times the cost of English ballots. Part of the cost problems stemmed from the inexperience of the jurisdictions in using multilingual ballots, and the lack of a base of knowledge to draw from.

The costs of elections are a valid consideration, but should costs overrule the constitutional right of citizens to vote? The answer clearly is no. The costs involved are far outweighed by the fulfillment of this fundamental right. As jurisdictions have become more familiar with how to provide bilingual election materials, the costs have noticeably decreased.

The right to vote is too precious to lose simply because citizens don't understand the language on the ballot. The minority language provisions of the Voting Rights Act have proven to be an effective and fair method of providing this fundamental right to all Americans. It is too important to lose.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION: THE NEED FOR EQUITY

by John McCain

In the past, I have commented on the bi-partisan congressional effort that put together the Bilingual Education Amendments and Reauthorization package of 1984. That effort was successful because my colleagues and I were supported by an active coalition of national and local organizations, and because of the substance of the amendments. However, to a large extent, exploited by the media and victimized by misdirected national studies, bilingual education has become one of the most misunderstood issues affecting our educational community.

Opponents of bilingual education have maintained that the future of our society will depend upon our ability to weld all the many ethnic components of our population into a homogeneous unit. And these same opponents have argued that use of the transitional method of instruction formally sanctions the perpetuation of ethnic divisions in American society, and some worry this division may become politically disruptive. Yet nothing is more discouraging to supporters of bilingual education than allegations that the continuation of cultural pluralism is the goal of bilingual education. Moreover, these opponents fail to recognize that one of the most unique and important features of our society is that we are a nation of many diverse cultures and customs.

Preservation of one's cultural identity and taking pride in one's ethnic heritage has become increasingly important in our society. However, each immigrant group has insisted that greater educational opportunities be provided for their children at every level. This is indicative of the importance parents have placed on the formal educational process to provide their offspring with all the tools they need to succeed in our society. Furthermore, attainment of these tools is what bilingual education strives to accomplish and the acquisition of English has always been the objective of our nation's bilingual education program. In fact, specifically written into the 1984

John McCain (R-AZ) is a Member of Congress.

legislation was the statement that the goal of bilingual education is to make all our citizens English proficient.

A year before we passed the 1984 Act, the National Commission on Excellence in Education issued its report entitled *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*. Among the valuable data revealed in this report was the acknowledgement of the unfortunate path we were then travelling. The report stated "...we have dismantled essential support systems which helped make various gains possible. We have, in effect, been committing an act of unthinking, unilateral educational disarmament." There is no doubt this report stirred people into thinking about our schools and the future of our nation, and thankfully, it stirred people into action.

Many legislative measures were initiated to address the educational problems we encountered, and Congress and the United States Department of Education have played prominent roles. I was fortunate to be a member of the Education and Labor Committee when the time came to reauthorize Title VII, and I was joined by colleagues who were committed to making bilingual education a model federal program. In my view, the 1984 Bilingual Education Act is an example of what accountability in government is all about—consideration of the needs of our children and the needs of our nation.

Because of the efforts of bilingual education supporters in many parts of our country, Congress was able to construct and pass a law that addressed the needs of our limited English proficient population. But perhaps more importantly, the 1984 Act looks beyond the minimum standards of educational equity and looks to educational excellence, and how bilingual education can play a role in bringing quality into our nation's schools.

The current chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, Congressman Hawkins, said something about the 1984 Bilingual Education Act, and I believe it deserves repeating. He said the new law "...takes into account, as never before, the needs of students, the aspirations of parents, the expectations of taxpayers, and the experience of educators."

I strongly believe the 1984 Act is an excellent piece of legislation and those of us who worked diligently to develop and pass these amendments cannot and will not end our efforts in addressing the needs of our limited English proficient population. Preliminary reports on the effectiveness of the 1984 law are very encouraging, but there is still much work to be done. The transitional method of instruction is constantly being scrutinized and evaluated, and greater funding levels for alternative methods have been requested. Yet, it is vitally important that our nation's leaders not abdicate their educa-

tional responsibilities to any segment of our population by eliminating a proven methodology without justification for doing so.

Bilingual education programs can and have been made to work. But as the debate continues on which methodology should be implemented in a given situation, let us not lose sight of what we are attempting to accomplish. Our objective is to teach limited English proficient children English, our language of commerce. A solid grasp of the English language is vital to succeed in today's society, and it is incumbent upon all of us to ensure that we provide every child the opportunity to acquire the tools needed to attain their aspirations. This we owe to our nation's children, but perhaps more importantly, this is what they deserve.

EXPANDING LANGUAGE HORIZONS: "ENGLISH PLUS"

by Paul Simon

English PLUS is a concept which goes beyond the bilingual teaching community and the goal of our school systems to teach English language skills and academic skills. The *need* to communicate in English in our nation today is not in question. The *methods* to facilitate this communication have been central to recent debates on how best to teach the limited English speaking student. The issue is not one exclusive to the Hispanic community. It is vital to those in our schools whose native languages vary from Urdu to Hmong, from Tagalog to Russian.

Current debates center around concepts of "English Only" and "English Plus." While bilingual education is not the only issue involved, nor the only solution, nor even more than a vehicle for English PLUS, we must acknowledge that it is bilingual education which has been the focus of questions on English language skills, and bilingual education which can preserve the strengths of a native culture and language while preparing a young person to function in an English speaking nation.

On September 26, 1985, the Secretary of Education spoke to the Association for a Better New York on bilingual education. In 1984, when Congress reauthorized the Bilingual Education Act, the problems and successes of bilingual education were fully examined, and we approved bilingual programs as a necessary response to the large population of limited English speaking students in our nation. The idea behind bilingual education is as sound as our reauthorization of the program affirmed in 1984.

The Secretary misunderstands the purpose of bilingual education. No one can quarrel with his statement that "...we expect our schools to help teach all of our students English, the common language that will enable them to participate fully in our political, economic and social life."

Yet, bilingual education is more than the method by which schools teach English. The student needs an opportunity to learn math, science and history while learning English language skills. We all must see that knowledge of a subject is imperative and central to education. The Secretary does; he speaks convincingly about education and excellence.

Senator Paul Simon (D-IL) sits on the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

If we attack bilingual education, and focus entirely on the acquisition of English language skills, we forsake the criteria of excellence in education held by Dr. Bennett. We would not provide the opportunity for excellence by limiting the skills our students are taught. We would be denying opportunities for excellence. Worse, we would be denying equity. Worse still, we would enter a period of outright neglect of over 4 million limited-English-speaking students in this nation.

That is not my goal, nor do I suspect it is the goal of Secretary Bennett. There is room for debate on how best to achieve a literate and skilled population of all backgrounds. What should be foremost in our minds, however, should be access to necessary skills which are the very opportunities that our schools promise. There is room for debate, but that debate should not artificially be limited to the teaching and learning of English. English language skills are critical, but so is the knowledge of math and science and history.

Most of us can point to immigrant ancestors and point to their "sink or swim" immersion in our English speaking culture. The opportunities of the last century and the first quarter of this century were not always dependent on knowledge of the English language—rather, they were opportunities of hard work in the Pennsylvania coal mines, Massachusetts factories and Illinois farmlands. Opportunities still exist today, but today's opportunities involve more than hard work. They involve knowledge of technology, marketing, finance, engineering and the humanities as well as the English language.

Secretary Bennett has labeled bilingual education a failure. I do not agree. The purpose of bilingual education is twofold—teaching English and teaching academic course content.

Bilingual education does even more. It keeps students in the classroom. Conception Valdez, Professor of Education at UCLA states, "Bilingual education is not what's keeping kids from learning English. What keeps students from learning English is flunking them out or making them feel inferior by thrusting them into classes where they don't understand the language." Dr. Paul Ylvisaker, Dean Emeritus of the Harvard Graduate School of Education takes this statement further in a report he co-authored *Making Something Happen*, "The major problem non-English speaking students experience is that of falling behind in course content while they are in the process of acquiring English competency." This is exactly the problem addressed through bilingual education. And bilingual education provides one answer to another problem in the schools.

A 1983 hearing before the House Education and Labor Committee during consideration of bilingual education legislation, disclosed some statistics, among them the statistics for New York City's Brandeis Bilingual School where 85 percent of the students in bilingual programs are admitted to institutions of higher education, while only 75 percent of their peers who are not in bilingual programs are admitted to postsecondary institutions. Secretary Bennett's predecessor at the Department of Education, Terrel Bell, cited many successes of bilingual education at the same hearing.

Bilingual education also helps address a foundation of academic success which is, simply, attendance. Attendance rates and drop out rates have everything to do with the basis of learning and subsequent success in finding employment. The President's Commission on Industrial Competitiveness issued a report in 1985, "Global Competition: The New Reality." The Commission says:

The high drop out rate in our secondary schools is contributing to the development of a growing, permanent underclass in our society. Twenty-six percent of students enrolled in school drop out. At this rate, our nation is producing in excess of 1 million dropouts annually. Minorities are the fastest growing segment of the young worker population that is most likely to drop out of school and enter the workforce without critical basic skills.

Bilingual education teaches not only English and academic and vocational knowledge, but encourages the very basics that the President's Commission deems crucial to economic success as a nation. Bilingual education has an impact on drop out rates.

The 1983 House hearing on bilingual education also received evidence that bilingual education teaches more than English and academics. In a sample New York school, attendance in bilingual classes is 90 percent while the school norm for students not enrolled in bilingual programs is 75 percent. Nationally, a 1981 study showed that students in bilingual classes have half the drop out rate of their peers who are not in bilingual classes. Based on these statistics, and the findings of the President's own Commission on Industrial Competitiveness, the advantages of continuing bilingual education should be clear.

The Ninth Annual Report of the National Advisory and Coordinating Council on Bilingual Education (1984-1985) finds that 82 percent of the local bilingual project directors thought that their services would be reduced or dropped if federal bilingual education funds were reduced or discontinued. We can get some sense of the repercussions of this when we compare the attendance and drop out rates of those in bilingual programs and those not in bilingual programs. When cities such as New York have an Hispanic drop out rate, for example, of 80 percent, Chicago 70 percent, Los Angeles 50 percent, we have a compelling reason to reaffirm our commitment to bilingual education.

National policy affirms that all students have the right to learn. This includes our limited-English-speaking students. The right to learn means the right to learn English and the right to learn academic and vocational subjects. Bilingual education is a successful way to provide the educational rights we guarantee all young people in the nation.

Secretary Bennett's speech last year on bilingual education noted that we expect our schools to prepare youth to fully participate in the opportunities and challenges of American society. He then says bilingual education fails at

this task. I say it does not. For if we expect students to participate in society, in the economy, in the political process, we must give them the tools to do these things. English skills are only one tool. We must provide more; we must educate in math and science and history and we must provide students an opportunity to learn whether their native language is English or Tagalog. We must make sure our students stay in school and graduate into productive roles in our economy and society. We should support bilingual education as it brings young people into the mainstream, and helps them achieve the dreams of opportunity which Americans, native born and immigrant, have shared for centuries.

While bilingual education and other methods to teach the limited-English-speaking student necessary communication skills have been central to the debate, a major strength these students bring to our nation has not been adequately addressed. English PLUS makes the important point that while young people need and want to become fluent in English to enter the mainstream of our society and economy, they have much to offer from their varied language backgrounds. English PLUS, not English Only, will allow our diplomatic corps, our military, academia and private industry to use the native language skills of children now in bilingual programs or in traditional school programs.

Only 4 percent of high school graduates in our nation have had at least two years of foreign language training. One hundred percent of limited English speaking students have capacities in other languages. How advantageous for an international banking concern to have an accountant who can speak another language. How advantageous for the State Department to have members of the Foreign Service who can speak another language with native fluency. How advantageous for government agencies such as the Immigration and Naturalization Service to have bilingual agents. How advantageous to have high school foreign language teachers who understand the language they teach as a native speaker. How much richer are we as a society when we understand another culture.

The answer to this question is unquantifiable. But our history does teach us that we are a nation of immigrants, and a nation of many languages. We have built on this as a *strength* and we can continue to build if we continue to see diversity as strength. What we do share is a common patriotism and a common dream of opportunity in the United States no matter what our heritage or what generation in our family came across the border to this country. English PLUS continues the support for and acknowledgment of our strengths through common dreams and our strengths through diversity of backgrounds all focused on the same goals for our nation—justice, opportunity, responsibility and the best use of human resources. English PLUS is one way to acknowledge a very important human resource—individuals with understanding of different languages and cultures in our ever shrinking world.

IMPLICATIONS OF CANADIAN RESEARCH FOR PROMOTING A LANGUAGE COMPETENT AMERICAN SOCIETY

by G. Richard Tucker

For the past 20 years, Wallace Lambert at McGill University and I have been collaboratively and individually concerned with questions of innovative language education in Canada and in many other parts of the world. Our work has been prompted by a strong shared belief in the desirability of developing—whether in Canada, the United States or elsewhere—a “language competent society” (cf., Tucker, 1984). Within the American context I have argued that we should assign the highest possible priority to providing an opportunity for all residents to develop the ability to understand, speak, read and write English while simultaneously offering those for whom English is a mother tongue the opportunity to add a second language to their repertoire. Those for whom English is not the mother tongue should have the opportunity to develop proficiency in their native language. I have argued, and believe strongly, that there are personal, social and economic benefits that would accrue to all of us with the development of a language competent American society.

It has often been observed in many parts of the world that monolinguality is *not* the norm—as it seems to be for so large a segment of the American population. Rather, monolinguality is the exception. For much of the world's population, bilinguality and the encouragement of second language study is not onerous, problematic or difficult. Rather, bilingualism is a way of life—in many places, the status quo. Language is, then, viewed in many parts of the world as a natural and as a national resource to be cherished, nourished and sustained. In fact, in a number of countries second language teaching efforts are viewed within the context of foreign exchange manipulations as an “invisible export” which actually provides at least paper income to the country when calculating the gross national product. My point in this brief introduction has been to articulate a bias and a framework for interpreting subsequent remarks. Let us now consider briefly the implications of Canadian research for American educators.

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During the past several years, despite explicit admonitions to the contrary (see, for example, Tucker, 1979; Lambert in California State Department of Education, 1984), many American educators have claimed that the abundant Canadian research data (summarized by Lambert and Tucker, 1972; Swain, 1978; Swain, 1984) offered empirical support for the immediate submersion or mainstreaming of limited or non-English-speaking youngsters—in monolingual English-medium classrooms. It has been argued repeatedly that the abundant Canadian research has demonstrated conclusively that a child—whether English Canadian, Mexican-American, Hmong, Haitian or other—can learn a second language and content material simultaneously. Therefore since a major American educational goal is to develop English proficiency, submersion in an English instructional program is desirable. Although the general assertion that many children can acquire a second language and content material coincidentally is, in all probability, correct; it does not imply that the most effective way to educate every child, regardless of demographic, socio-political, or other circumstances, is by total submersion in a second language.

Let me summarize briefly and then try to draw some broad pedagogical generalizations. Then, I'd like to summarize very briefly salient characteristics of many of the U.S. bilingual education programs and see what implications, if any, can be drawn from the Canadian experience.

The Canadian Experience. The following characteristics summarize salient attributes of a majority of existing Canadian "immersion" programs (cf., Swain, 1984; Genesee, 1985).

1. The French-immersion programs (specifically referred to as bilingual education programs by Canadian educators) were designed for English-speaking youngsters in response to continuing parental dissatisfaction with the level of French attained by children participating in English instructional programs with French-as-a-second language components. For the most part, participating youngsters speak English as their mother tongue—that is, they speak the language of higher ascribed social and economic status in North America. (It is certainly the case that many program participants have been non-English as well as non-French mother tongue but results from such youngsters have usually not been included in data analyses.)

2. Participants in immersion programs throughout Canada have, for the most part, come from families of middle socio-economic status backgrounds.

3. Participation in such programs has always been voluntary, and most parents continue to have the alternative of sending their children to schools in the immediate neighborhoods which offer traditional instruction via English. (The concept of a "neighborhood school" seemed much more prevalent to me in Canada than it does in the U.S.)

4. Parents have, from the very beginning of the programs, played an extremely strong and catalytic role in all aspects of program design, development and implementation.

5. The early immersion approach most typically implemented across Canada involves introducing children to formal instruction in French, the second language, from the very beginning. French is used for all initial readiness activities and it is the language of initial reading instruction. For the most part, the language skills of entering children are uniform. All speak English as their mother tongue and live in neighborhoods populated by English-speaking playmates. They speak virtually no French upon entrance.

6. The teachers are native French speakers. They treat the children, insofar as possible, as though they were French youngsters. Teachers respond to the children's initial English verbalization by paraphrasing, clarifying, and elaborating messages in French.

7. French is used as a major medium of primary content instruction. Nevertheless, an English language arts component is always added to the curriculum by grade two or three and forms an integral part of the core curriculum throughout the primary and secondary years of instruction. This intentional teaching serves to mark explicitly the continuing importance or status of English as a valued language and helps to solidify formal decontextualized language skills.

8. In addition starting with the middle primary years, selected content material is taught via English. Thus, typically, from grade 3 (or 4, at local option) and continuing throughout the course of formal instruction selected periods of the day are devoted to the teaching of English language arts, French language arts, certain content subjects via French and certain content subjects via English.

These programs are designed explicitly to encourage the development and maintenance of bilinguality. They are intended to lead toward "additive" bilingualism—the addition of another language without giving up one's own mother tongue. The Canadian immersion programs, then, are *not* traditional second language programs in the American sense; they are *not* "submersion" programs; and they are *not* transitional bilingual education programs. They are characterized by the use of the target language as a major medium for teaching relevant content material which is of interest to the students; they are characterized by structured language arts components in both the target language and in the child's mother tongue; they are characterized by continuing communication between the language arts teachers and the content instructors; they are characterized by teaching strategies which are designed to facilitate the provision of comprehensible input to the children; and they are designed to maximize the use by teachers and students of diverse strategies for the negotiation of meaning (for a recent review of characteristics of teaching practices within immersion programs see Genesee, 1985).

These general features typify programs which exist in many communities throughout all Canadian provinces. Other writers have presented research results in some detail (e.g., Genesee, 1984; Swain, 1985) and it would be

redundant to repeat these. However, by way of brief summary, the consensus of researchers who have worked with large groups of different children participating over long periods of time in programs in different schools, within different school boards and in different provinces is that this innovative approach to second language teaching in which the target language is used as a major medium of classroom communication facilitates second language acquisition without causing any detrimental effects whatsoever to native language development, or to general cognitive or social development. In addition, youngsters perform as well as their English-taught peers on achievement tests in content areas such as math, science or social studies while performing as well as French-taught peers on comparable French-language achievement tests. In addition, there appears to be evidence for a general increase in creativity or cognitive flexibility associated with the development of bilinguality and with participation in such programs (results which are not inconsistent with those reported by Hakuta, 1984; Hakuta & Diaz, in press).

Conclusions from the Canadian Experience. On the basis of such evidence, Wallace Lambert and I have frequently argued that in settings where the home language is highly valued by members of the community, where parents actively provide encouragement and support for the acquisition of literacy in the mother tongue, and where a community stereotype exists that the children will succeed, it would seem fully appropriate to begin schooling in a second language. These inferences, we believe, also find support in the research and theorizing of Krashen (cf., Dulay, Burt & Krashen, 1982, Cummins (1978, 1980, 1981), Snow (1984), Diaz (1985) and others who have discussed such phenomena as the relationship between intentional or incidental learning/acquisition/teaching and the development of contextualized and decontextualized language abilities for monolingual and bilingual children; the existence and development of cross-language transfer of skills and the necessity for children to develop some demonstrable level of linguistic competence for the beneficial aspects of bilingualism to begin to accrue and manifest themselves. This development of critical linguistic and cognitive foundations is something which we believe can occur at home under certain circumstances—and we think it seems to do so for language-majority youngsters in Canada. If such development does not occur at home, it must be fostered in school.

Recent American Experience. Various facets and dimensions of contemporary American experience with bilingual education have been described, and it is not my intent to repeat this material. It may be relevant to note, however, that despite almost 20 years of federal support for bilingual education, very little critical, empirical, or longitudinal research has been conducted. The intent of this section is neither to review the research which has been done nor to bemoan the paucity of American research, but rather to identify several salient characteristics of American bilingual education programs.

1. Present publicly-supported bilingual programs have been designed, for the most part, as compensatory or remedial programs for language-minority or non-English-speaking youngsters who seem unable to profit from instruction in English.

2. Many of the program participants come from families in which the parents have not themselves completed the local equivalent of the compulsory cycle of American education. Many parents are not literate or only marginally literate in the predominant home language.

3. Many parents remain sadly uninformed or even misinformed about the purpose, structure or content of bilingual education programs in their communities.

4. The entry-level language skills of participating children are extremely heterogeneous. A Spanish-English class may include, for example, Spanish monolingual children, Spanish dominant children, children of questionable dominance in either language, English dominant and English monolingual children. Furthermore, the Hispanic children may themselves come from diverse national backgrounds. Many of the children live in linguistically heterogeneous communities and fail to receive encouragement or support from parents or peers to pursue extracurricular academic interests.

5. In many communities, negative stereotypes characterize the language-minority child and it is "known" (i.e., assumed) that a disproportionately high number will be academically unsuccessful.

6. Federal legislation and much state legislation explicitly encourages *transitional* bilingual education. This legislation seems designed, on the one hand, to nurture the child's mother tongue and to encourage conceptual development in a strong language while gradually introducing a second language; but, on the other hand, abruptly withdraws recognition and credibility for the mother tongue as soon as possible and, I believe, in most cases before the building blocks of the mother tongue have been solidified. It is my firm conviction based on a careful, continual review of literature from around the world that such transitional programs *must* provide instruction via the mother tongue for at least five to six years.

7. After a transition has been made from teaching via the mother tongue to teaching via English, there is usually never any provision for the continuation of a mother tongue language arts component throughout the remainder of the compulsory cycle of education—something which characterizes *all* of the Canadian innovative language education programs.

At this point, it is appropriate to reiterate that the scanty research evidence which does exist suggests that language-minority children will thrive when they are educated initially in their mother tongue and then later bilingually in carefully designed and well-implemented programs by sensitive teachers working in communities where there exists widespread knowledge about and support for bilingual education. In addition, research with immersion education for language-majority youngsters in the United

States (see, for example, Gray, Campbell, Rhodes and Show, in press; Rhodes, 1983) indicates that participation in American versions of the Canadian immersion programs is an extremely effective pedagogical device. Youngsters who participate in such programs, and there are now numerous programs located throughout the United States, acquire a significantly greater degree of proficiency in the target or second language than do their counterparts who participate in more traditional FLES programs. At the same time, they fully master the content material that would be expected of children from their age and social background.

Implications of Research. What then are the implications of our accumulated research data for the development of a language competent American society? The information summarized briefly above leads, I believe, to the following general conclusion. It is possible within a formal educational setting to provide assistance to all children to enable them to acquire proficiency in their mother tongue as well as in a second language. For language-minority youngsters here in the United States it would seem pedagogically effective to introduce these children to schooling in their home language.

This presumably might be done in areas of the United States where there are sufficiently large, cohesive and interested individuals who share a common ethnolinguistic background. Where such individuals have congregated and where the home language is not English, where there does not exist uniformly high pressure within the home and community to encourage native language literacy or language maintenance, where many teachers in the educational system may be unaware or insensitive to the values and traditions of these youngsters, schooling might best initially be provided in the mother tongue. This schooling should take the form of a carefully developed language arts program integrated into a general curriculum in which content material is also taught in the mother tongue by well-trained teachers who are fluent speakers of the language. The major purpose of this approach is to sustain and to nurture the linguistic and cognitive development of the youngsters while teaching the second language and while gradually introducing content material in the second language—without (hopefully) ever abandoning the language arts or the content material taught in the mother tongue. The "product" of such an educational program should be a language-competent young adult proficient in English and in the mother tongue. It should be added that there is no indication whatsoever from any research literature that transitional bilingual education programs, such as those typically practiced presently in the United States, are pedagogically more effective than maintenance programs. The assertion that the results from studies of Canadian immersion programs lead to the conclusion that minority group youngsters in the United States, Canada or other places should be immersed or submerged in the target language is false.

The Canadian research results do, however, suggest that in certain social settings where the home language is highly valued, where parents and peer

groups actively encourage literacy and mother tongue maintenance, and where it is assumed that children will succeed, schooling can appropriately and without detriment commence in the second language. The majority youngster who participates in such an educational program should be a language-competent young adult proficient in English and in a second language. In both of these cases—that of initial schooling in the mother tongue with the later addition of English for language-minority youngsters and with initial schooling in the target language with a later addition of English for language-majority youngsters it is possible to work toward the development or the nurturance of “additive” bilingualism. It is such additive bilingualism which is conducive to the development of a language competent society. Although it is certainly the case that parents, as well as religious or social institutions, can and should play a role in providing support for language maintenance it can as well be argued that if we are to develop a bilingual society then at least some intentional teaching or learning should go on within the context of a formal classroom so that we can best facilitate the development of a stable set of building blocks upon which later transfer can take place and so that we can ensure the acquisition of both contextualized as well as decontextualized language abilities—skills which will be so necessary for later effective participation in further training as well as for access to a variety of occupational settings. Such an approach to educational planning should permit us to utilize fully the potential indigenous natural resources resident in the U.S.—i.e., language-minority youngsters while concomitantly developing a new national resource—the full language capability of language-majority youngsters.

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THE ROLE OF SPANISH LANGUAGE MEDIA

by Robert C. Hitchens

Any analysis of the past, present and future roles of Spanish language media must start with an examination of the patterns of communication within Spanish USA.

The Spanish language, of course, has existed within North America for more than three centuries and even today researchers estimate that in "Spanish USA" nine out of ten are still fluent in Spanish, although nearly half of all adults are now bilingual.

The Culture, Not the Language, Created the Desire for Spanish Media

We cannot over-emphasize the fact that this three-centuries-old retention of Hispanic culture and tradition is responsible for the development of media to address these interests. Actually, the fact that these media "talk in Spanish" is less important than the fact that the *content* is Hispanic.

In other words, Hispanic media were created to fill a vacuum. They are a reflection of a need.

A Five-Fold Growth Rate

That this is a rapidly growing need is evidenced by the unparalleled growth of Spanish USA, which grew 61 percent during the 1970-1980 decade, according to the Census. This was a growth rate five and a half times the 11 percent growth for the general market during the decade. Interim Census data for 1980-1985 show that Spanish USA is continuing this five-fold growth rate in the first half of the present decade. Hispanic population in Spanish USA is estimated at 18.3 million, as of January 1, 1986.

Spanish language broadcast media are relatively young, the first full-time radio station having gone on the air shortly after World War II. The U.S. now has some 80 full-time Spanish language radio stations, and many more which program part-time in Spanish.

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Spanish television was introduced in 1971, with the launching of the SIN Television Network's first affiliate in San Antonio. This station has now been joined by 382 additional affiliates, all interconnected live-via-satellite, reaching more than four out of every five household in Spanish USA.

This awesome expansion of Spanish language radio and television is an eloquent measure of the desire for Hispanic media.

SIN promotes Bilinguality

Because SIN was conceived to satisfy a desire for programming devoted to Hispanic culture, we are a "medium of choice," viewed by Hispanics who *want* to watch the Hispanic programming, regardless of how proficient they may be in English and how much Anglo television they may also watch.

SIN has always felt and hoped that much of Spanish USA will someday be truly bilingual. There are obvious economic advantages to bilinguality and the network is not fearful that as English skills increase, the Spanish language will "die out," with the concomitant demise of Spanish media.

In the 1960's one of the first industry recognitions we ever received was an Emmy Award earned by a public service series on our Los Angeles affiliate, KMEX-TV, which covered the many aspects of living successfully within an Anglo environment, and the important of learning English. Currently, SIN is carrying another weekly instructional program, entitled "Follow Me," which also teaches English.

Three Out of Four Want to be Bilingual

Hispanics' language skills were investigated in two landmark studies, "Spanish USA," conducted in 1981 and 1984 by Yankelovich, Skelly and White. Comparing trends from the two studies, Yankelovich found that "the commitment to Spanish is stronger, if anything," and in the 1984 study three out of four Hispanic adults said that bilingualism was their predominant language goal.

SIN: A Protagonist for Spanish USA

Another Yankelovich finding, particularly gratifying to SIN, was "a lessening of differences" among Hispanics of varying nationalities, and a "growing sense of unity." Ever since its inception, SIN has been sensitive to the need for a national effort to promote participation by *all* Hispanics in the nation's economic and political fabric, and has aggressively strived to help bring this about. We are indeed pleased by this evidence that our efforts may be succeeding.

One of our most acclaimed undertakings has been our "Destino" series, conducted in presidential election years, to encourage Hispanics to par-

ticipate in the nation's political process by registering and voting. In 1980, the "Destino" campaign was expanded to also persuade Hispanics to cooperate with census-takers so that Spanish USA might be accurately tabulated and represented.

In the general market, television is the primary source of news, but in the Hispanic market, there had been no daily and international network television news.

Sensing a viewer interest in such a newscast, in 1981 SIN launched *Noticiero Nacional* on weekday evenings. "Viewer interest" is an understatement, for audiences quickly made *Noticiero* the second highest rated of all SIN programs—a leadership the program has consistently occupied throughout its tenure.

This newscast draws on SIN's full-time news bureaus world-wide, covering all aspects of matters important to Hispanics: culture, science, politics, sports, literature, etc.

"*Noticiero*" is making a major contribution by covering events from an Hispanic viewpoint in a balanced, professional journalistic manner, so different from the Anglo press which is far more inclined to completely ignore Hispanic developments, or to dismiss them with superficial, less-than-objective, token coverage.

Any accounting of the role of Hispanic media must include Spanish television's fundraising efforts which provide millions of dollars as some solace for the victims of earthquakes, volcanos, hurricanes, mud slides and other tragedies suffered by Hispanic countries.

Pride and The Mother Tongue

People who are unfamiliar with Hispanic culture may wonder why Hispanics cling to their mother tongue more than do Americans of other nationalities. The reason is Hispanic pride in tradition and culture. As evaluated by Yankelovich, when respondents were asked to name the most important aspect of their culture to be preserved, the Spanish language was overwhelmingly named as the foremost "key to maintaining and fostering cultural identity." There may be a trend here, in that 81 percent cited the Spanish language in the 1981 study, and this grew to 84 percent in the 1984 study.

Spanish USA is Both Old and New

In addition to pride and tradition, there are other reasons for Hispanic dependence upon the mother tongue. Although many Hispanics' roots go back three centuries, Yankelovich found that two out of three Hispanic adults were born outside the United States, and many have been here for a surprisingly short period of time. Around one-fourth have been here less than ten years, and nearly half, less than twenty years.

Hence, for these relative newcomers, the Spanish language and media have vital importance, because at the moment Spanish may be all they know.

Another, extremely important factor perpetuating the Spanish culture and language in the U.S. is the 2,000-mile common border between Mexico and the Southwestern U.S. Bearing in mind that two out of three U.S. Hispanics are of Mexican origin, the influence of this proximity to mother country, heritage and relatives should not be under-estimated.

Use of Spanish Media

The pervasiveness of the Spanish culture and language is reflected in media habits, as evidenced by Yankelovich's findings that in one week an impressive 73 percent of Hispanic adults viewed Spanish television, 70 percent listened to Spanish radio, and 46 percent read Spanish print.

Concerning the amount of time which Hispanics devoted to Spanish vs English media, about half of the total time spent with television and radio was spent with Spanish and half with English. Of total time devoted to print, 40 percent was spent with Spanish and 60 percent with English print.

Younger Hispanics are Heavy Users of Spanish Media

The tenacity with which younger Hispanics also cling to their heritage is noticeably evident in the media habits of the younger generation, aged 18-34 years. Strategy Research Corporation found, in the spring of 1984, that a slightly greater proportion of 18-34's "used" all Spanish media "yesterday" than did Hispanic adults of all ages. Furthermore, younger Hispanics spent slightly more time with Spanish media than did total Hispanic adults.

FCC Encouragement

Since the inception of SIN 25 years ago, the Federal Communications Commission has been supportive of our efforts to create a viable commercial Spanish television service. This support has continued even as the television industry metamorphosed from broadcast-only to broadcast-plus-cable.

As a typical illustration of the many instances of FCC support, when adopting the 1972 cable television rules, the Commission commented that, "...foreign language stations fulfill an important and specialized programming need."

Conclusion

Spanish media developed in the U.S. as a reflection of Hispanics' continuing love for Spanish traditions and heritage, intertwined with the Spanish language.

These media multiplied and thrived because they appealed to this undiminishing affection for Hispanic culture, regardless of how fluent Hispanics might also be in English and how extensively English language media are also used.

SIN promotes bilinguality, for there are obvious advantages to fluency in English and we see no evidence that Hispanics who also master English will abandon their heritage and Spanish-language media.

We think it extremely unfortunate that there are those who advocate legal action to compel broadcasting only in the English language. Such proposed legislation is narrow-minded and flawed in objective, since it would result in the suppression of not merely a language, but an entire culture.

There is a particular irony in the fact that such a proposal even exists on the very eve of America's re-dedication of The Statute of Liberty in this nation of all peoples...all cultures...and all languages.

LEGAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AMENDMENT

by Mary Carol Combs
and John Trasvina

Current efforts to limit the use of languages other than English are not unique to the 1980's. Much like Halley's comet, which was last seen at the turn of the century, concerted attempts to restrict language rights appear on the American scene every seventy years or so.

Both the 19th and early 20th centuries witnessed legislation which institutionalized discrimination against Blacks and immigrant groups. Paralleling the rise of Jim Crow in the 1800's which denied newly won constitutional rights to Black Americans, English only and nativist groups have spawned efforts to reduce the political clout of new immigrants, eradicate their languages, and keep them from the socio-economic mainstream since the last century.

Laws were enacted to prevent Chinese from testifying in court, Japanese from owning land, German from being learned in the classroom, and Hispanic children from attending integrated schools. The first English language requirement for naturalization was adopted with the explicit purpose of limiting the entrance into the United States of Southern and Eastern Europeans.

It took the Supreme Court in 1923 to strike down statutes in over 20 states which made English the official language and prohibited the teaching of other languages in the classroom. That such English only legislation was reprehensible to the basic laws of our nation was made clear by Justice McReynolds, who wrote for the court in *Meyer v. Nebraska* (1923) 262 U.S. 390:

"The protection of the Constitution extends to all, to those who speak other languages as well as to those born with English on the tongue. Perhaps it would be highly advantageous if all had ready understanding of our ordinary speech, but this cannot be coerced by methods which conflict with the Constitution—a desirable end cannot be promoted by prohibited means."

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Notwithstanding this long-held constitutional doctrine a new English only movement has emerged. In early 1985, legislation to amend the Constitution of the United States was introduced in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. The Senate bill (S.J. Res. 20), sponsored by Steven Symms (R-ID), states the following:

"Section 1. The English Language shall be the official language of the United States.

"Section 2. The Congress and the Senate shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The companion House Bill (H.J. Res. 96), sponsored by Norman Shumway (R-CA), contains the same language with two additional sections:

"Section 1. The English language shall be the official language of the United States.

"Section 2. Neither the United States nor any State shall require by law, ordinance, regulation, order, decree, program, or policy, the use in the United States of any language other than English.

"Section 3. This article shall not prohibit any law, ordinance, regulation, order, decree, program, or policy requiring educational instruction in a language other than English for the purpose of making students who use a language other than English proficient in English.

"Section 4. The Congress and the States may enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Additionally, spin-off legislation has been introduced in both the House and Senate to terminate the effect of provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 requiring bilingual ballots and election materials.

Supporters of the English Language Amendment aim to extend "legal protection" to the English language, whose "primacy," they feel, is threatened by bilingualism and biculturalism. This new philosophy of cultural and linguistic pluralism, according to "U.S. English," the principle lobbying proponent of the English Language Amendment, "is fragmenting the nation into separate, unassimilated groups." Former Senator S.I. Hayakawa (R-CA), Honorary Chairman of U.S. English, writes:

"During the six years that I served as a United States Senator, I realized that our country was headed toward a crisis that no one seemed willing to address. We have unwisely embarked upon a policy of so-called 'bilingualism,' putting foreign languages in competition with our own.

"English has long been the main unifying force of the American people. But now prolonged bilingual education in public schools and multi-lingual ballots threaten to divide us along language lines."

U.S. English, which claims a membership of 170,000, maintains that the public use of foreign languages, especially Spanish, in our country will create "language segregation" and a gradual loss of national unity.

As evidence of the "erosion of English," they point to ethnic groups who "reject the melting-pot ideal" of assimilation. They cite also the availability of bilingual education programs and bilingual election materials, massive immigration concentrated in fewer language groups, and the existence of foreign language print and electronic media.

English only proponents claim that all of the above factors are disincentives to the learning of English, and that a constitutional designation of English as the official language would encourage language minority groups to learn it, and thus enable them to enter the American political, economic and social mainstream.

At first glance, the idea of an English Language Amendment seems harmless enough. Why oppose a symbolic amendment to declare by law what we all know anyway, that English is already the language of our country? Why not legally sanction the "glue" that binds us together as a nation?

First, an English Language Amendment will not make the use of English any more official than it is today. There are already many statutes governing the use of English. Most of the fifty states, and almost all of the territories, including Puerto Rico, have English as a legally sanctioned requirement for public or judicial institutions (Liebowitz, 1969).

These statutes regulate court and legislative proceedings, official records and legal notices. Most states also require English language examinations before a person may practice a profession (Liebowitz, 1969). English language and civic requirements still exist for naturalization and citizenship.

Even in Puerto Rico, where Spanish is the predominant language, English is widely used in both commerce and official business. Its status is a reflection, in part, of federal government insistence after independence in 1917 that school instruction and legal proceedings be conducted in English (Liebowitz, 1969). More significantly, however, it is a reflection of the realization by Puerto Ricans that social and economic success can be more fully achieved by learning English.

Second, amending the U.S. Constitution is not a matter to be taken lightly and requires serious consideration of its potential consequences. It is also a lengthy process: the proposal to declare English the official language of the United States would become law only if ratified by three-fourths of the states within seven years of submission by Congress (Dale, 1984).

Amendments to the Constitution fundamentally set out to correct institutional or systemic denial of civil rights, and are therefore necessary adjustments to preserve equal opportunity and equality for all citizens. As such, any critical analysis of the English Language Amendment must answer two questions. Exactly whose rights are being violated because English is not the official "constitutional" language? Who exactly will benefit from passage of this amendment?

Since the underlying assumption of the English Language Amendment, at least in theory, is the need to protect English—and hence English speakers—from the growing encroachment of foreign languages and cultures, then one might argue that the “cultural” or “linguistic” rights of a majority group have been violated. Indeed, it is not difficult to understand the chagrin of the monolingual English speaker when confronted by the increasing use of other languages in areas which were previously monolingual.

But arguing that the “traditional” status of English is in jeopardy does not justify a constitutional amendment to restore its “primacy.” English speakers still retain full access to equal education and employment opportunity, are entitled to full protection under the law, and may utilize the print or electronic media of their choice. Thus, the conclusion from the availability of such freedoms is that the civil and constitutional rights of monolingual English speakers are not violated by lack of an official language. As the 1984 LULAC testimony on the English Language Amendment points out:

“This is not the 13th Amendment ending slavery. This is not the 14th Amendment calling for equal protection laws. This is not the 15th Amendment ending racial discrimination. This is not the 19th Amendment allowing women the right to vote. Nor is this the Equal Rights Amendment seeing to ensure that women are treated fairly in society.”

On the contrary, the fundamental question to ask about the English Language Amendment is this: whose constitutional and civil rights will be violated if English is declared the official, i.e., only language of the land? The answer, of course, is the language minority individual, who stands to be directly and gravely affected by passage of the Amendment.

In fact, rather than ensuring the participation of language minority persons in the political process, the English Language Amendment would end or at least severely limit numerous language assistance programs and services, including bilingual education for limited English proficient children, and the provision of multilingual election materials.

The denial of voting assistance would undoubtedly further disenfranchise limited English proficient citizens, especially the elderly, who rely on bilingual assistance for a fuller understanding of the election issues. Such a denial represents a return to the age of Jim Crow, when literacy tests as a condition of voting were imposed to disenfranchise Black Americans seeking to exercise their newly won right to vote.

Multilingual voting materials for limited English proficient citizens were established by the Voting Rights Act of 1975 to protect access to the electoral process by Hispanic and Asian Americans, Native Alaskans, American Indians and other citizens who are not fully proficient in English. The Act requires jurisdictions with single language minority populations of more than 5 percent of the general population to have voting materials in that language (Congressional Hispanic Caucus, 1985). The bilingual provisions of the Act are based on Congressional recognition of the discrimina-

tion against these groups. And indeed, bilingual ballots have been instrumental to increased language minority participation at the polls.

The English Language Amendment would prohibit interpreters in court for non-English speaking crime victims or defendants, and for use in the physical and mental examination of alien immigrants seeking entry into the United States (Congressional Hispanic Caucus, 1985). It would eliminate Spanish language radio and television broadcasting and possible bilingual 911 emergency operators. Currently, bilingual personnel are available at federally funded migrant and community centers, as well as alcohol and drug treatment programs which serve language minority communities. The Amendment would likely affect the availability of the foreign language personnel at these centers (Congressional Hispanic Caucus, 1985). Most of these services have come under attack by English only proponents.

Additionally, if the English language is imposed as a condition of statehood, the admission of Puerto Rico into the Union as the 51st state would more than likely be prohibited (Liebowicz, 1985).

Section D of the proposed California English Language Amendment, establishing English as the official state language, actually encourages widespread attacks on all uses of Spanish or other languages in public and private contexts. Designated the "Personal Right of Action and Jurisdiction of Courts," Section D permits anyone living or doing business in California to sue in State Court to enforce the California Amendment.

Local governments, hospital districts, utilities, and many corporations would then be subject to lawsuits by any English only supporter waiting to implement this agenda. Even though courts might reject the English only arguments, the mere ability to get to court on the Amendment will deter local governments from adequately serving non-English speaking residents in order to avoid legal fees, court costs and litigation.

In fact, recent events foreshadow the real agenda of the California English Language Amendment: English only leaders in Monterey Park want to use it to ban Chinese language business signs. "California English," the West Coast affiliate of U.S. English, has already opposed Spanish Language Yellow Pages. On the East Coast, "Florida English" leaders have begun a boycott of Philip Morris products for the "crime" of advertising in Spanish, attacking Spanish language library materials and criticized bilingual hospital personnel and infant care manuals. English only bills are pending in the Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Massachusetts State Legislatures.

Ironically, the attempt to make English official represents the first time that the Constitution has been used to intentionally *take away* the rights of Americans rather than to *extend or strengthen* them. Never in our history, except for the brief period of Prohibition, has the amendment process been used to revoke basic rights.

While its supporters depict the English Language Amendment as a gentle reminder that English is the nation's language, and as we stated before—

who could disagree with that—elevating English to constitutional status immediately and undeniably brings a host of negative consequences and exposes the hidden agenda of U.S. English and the English Language Amendment.

Guy Wright, a columnist for the *San Francisco Examiner* and supporter of U.S. English, unintentionally reveals some of that hidden agenda:

"[U.S. English] is none too soon. Although there is virtually no public support for the proposition that this country should conduct its affairs in foreign languages for the convenience of those who don't want to learn English, the ethnic leaders pressing that demand are highly organized and single-minded, and they have won every skirmish so far against the disorganized opposition of a general public with many other worries.

"Until a few years ago there was no problem. It was taken for granted that anyone who wanted to share in the benefits of American citizenship should learn English. Even today most immigrants realize the value of knowing English and are eager to learn—witness the packed newcomer classes.

"The resistance comes from leaders of ethnic blocs, mostly Hispanic, who reject the melting-pot concept, resist assimilation as a betrayal of their ancestral culture and demand government funding to maintain their ethnic institutions.

"We have seen the fruits of their victories. Laws now require multilingual ballots and voting aids, and tax money pays for voter registration campaigns aimed solely at those who will vote in a foreign language."

What is immediately evident is that the raising of the "language issue" is, in truth, little more than xenophobia and racism. In fact, much of the current rhetoric from English only proponents about the perceived dangers of linguistic segregation is a trojan horse for other, more disturbing messages. According to one legal scholar:

"One possibility is that passage of the ELA is not the true goal of many of its erstwhile supporters. These particular proponents may be using the *idea* of the amendment as simply one part of an attack on despised programs and emergent Hispanic political power. Supporters of the ELA often depict bilingual education as largely Hispanic porkbarreling, a means of providing jobs and influence to the Hispanic population, particularly its political leaders. Faced with what seems to them to be pure self-interest masquerading as part of the civil rights movement, the opponents of such programs might want to trump Hispanic political power by linking their position to an even more powerful, self-evident, patriotic imperative. In this context, wrapping their primary goals in the mantle of support for the English language in the United States changes the terms of the political argument in a way that 'naturally' favors their position." (Liebowicz, 1985)

Finally, the current debate about the English Language Amendment sends another, more subtle message to language minority communities: that they disavow the "primacy" of English and worse yet, refuse to learn to speak it.

No one, least of all the limited English proficient individual, questions that English is already the official language of the nation. Hispanic Americans and other language minority groups have always accepted English as the national language and do not need new federal legislation to inform them of that fact. They also know full well the importance of knowing English. A May 1985 marketing study in Miami disclosed that 98 percent of Hispanic parents (as compared to 94 percent of Anglo and Black ents) felt it is "essential for their children to read and write English perfectly." Elsewhere around the country, Latinos and Asian Americans regularly fill waiting lists for English courses at community colleges, and adult education programs.

Legislation making English "official" will not make it any more so. But more resources to provide English language instruction will. This requires literacy initiatives like the English Proficiency Act for adults, and bilingual education for children who, when taught in their native language, studies show, learn English better than in immersion or English only programs. English only proponents contend the Amendment will allow states to terminate bilingual education without court interference.

Limited English proficient people don't need to be encouraged; they need to be enabled. As Senator Domenici stated before the Senate in September 1985:

"[This English Language Amendment] won't help anyone learn the English language. It won't improve our society. It won't lead to a cohesive nation. In fact, it will create a more divided nation. This amendment is an insult to all Americans for whom English is not the first language now at this stage of their life and to all those Americans who would like to learn English but who can't for one reason or another."

Legislating an official language will not produce "better citizens" or make them feel "more American." On the contrary, the effort sends ethnic communities the message that it's un-American to be actively bilingual and that the desire to maintain ties to one's cultural and linguistic heritage is unpatriotic. Indeed, some even suggest bilingualism, especially Spanish bilingualism, constitutes a national security risk (Butler, 1985).

Paradoxically, the stated objective of the English only movement to foster unity and nationhood by legislating a common language is having the opposite effect. Entire communities have split ideologically along racial and language lines. The following newspaper headlines represent the disunity English only proponents have caused:

- "Fillmore, CA: A town divided"
- "Language rule angers Hispanics"
- "English only measure divides Monterey Park, CA"
- "Melting pot boils over in Monterey Park"
- "Battle lines drawn on language issue"
- "U.S. English fighting back"
- "English only: New sign of angry times"
- "Hispanics blast U.S. language bill"

If the ongoing efforts to make English the official language of the United States are successful, English won't be the nation's official language. discrimination will. The English only movement today is merely the latest form of what Dr. Ricardo Callejo, of the Spanish-Speaking/Surnamed Political Association, first described as "linguistic racism" in the United States. Antagonism and discrimination based on language goes beyond race and has victimized virtually every immigrant group, including Blacks, since the 1800's.

It would be only foolish and cruel to deny that which Hispanics and other ethnic and linguistic minorities in the United States know probably better than anyone: English is the language of general societal, political, and economic discourse. To get ahead in these areas, one must know English. Yet knowing English is simply not enough. To suggest that this is the case, as do groups like U.S. English and its affiliates, only marks the "official English" movement as one looking to the 19th Century and out of step with America entering the 21st Century.

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